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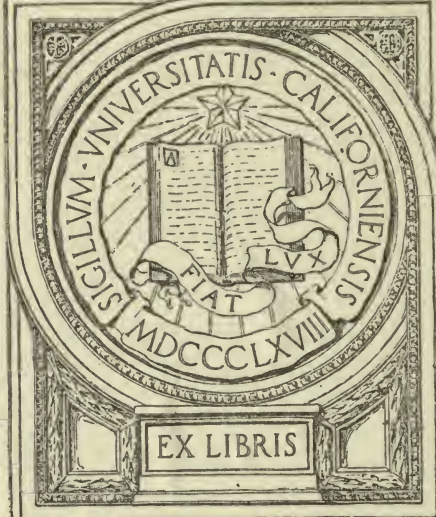

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CALIFORNIA

TWELVE ANDAMANESE SONGS

BY

BENJAMIN P. KURTZ

Gift of author

TWELVE ANDAMANESE SONGS

BENJAMIN P. KURTZ

By their introductory and general studies of the beginnings of poetry, Gummere, Schmidt, Ridgeway, Mackenzie, and a few others[1] have opened the way for specific investigation in the songs, stories, and dramatic performances of each of the simpler peoples. But at first this specific study must perforce be largely descriptive and textual in character, for the fragmentary, inaccurate, and confused condition of much of the material available for examination makes indispensable a careful, preliminary checking of information, texts, and translations.

Every one who has attempted to study at second hand the emotional and imaginative utterances of the simpler peoples has commented upon the incomplete and misleading reports—by travelers, explorers, missionaries, and resident European officials —with which he has had to deal. The initial difficulty of securing from the savages themselves accurate accounts of their beliefs, customs, legends, and songs; the probability that the fragmentary results of first-hand inquiry have been rendered still more unsatisfactory by the inaccuracy of the reporter; the certainty that many translations from the native tongues are highly colored or sentimentalized: these handicaps are generally recognized. But what is not sufficiently realized is the substantial inaccuracy of many translations by experienced and careful observers who are themselves proficient in the native languages with which they are working. Because they are interested not in the actual, aesthetic form of the song or story, but rather in its general content—its

[1] For problems of study and bibliography see Gayley and Kurtz, *Lyric, Epic, and Allied Types of Poetry* (Ginn & Co., 1920), pp. 369–374; cf. pp. 141–145, 149–182, 591–596, 605–609, 615–668; also Gayley and Scott, *Methods and Materials of Lit. Crit., Bases in Aesthetics* (Ginn & Co., 1899). pp. 266–274.

ANDAMAN

meaning in relation to some particular research in the customs or beliefs of the tribe—these reporters have not seldom yielded to the temptation of offering as a translation what really is a summary of the original or even an expanded explanation of it. The temptation to indulge in the latter is especially strong in the case of songs, for most "primitive" lyrics are so abrupt, allusive, and brief that their meaning has to be developed and explained. The Andamanese, for example, have a brief song (II, below) the actual form of which is fairly well represented as follows:

By beetles my ears are rasped,
By cicadas my ears are rasped O.
My ears are rasped O and buzzing O.
My ears are rasped O and buzzing O.

But from this faithful translation the complete meaning of the lyric would never be guessed. The Andamanese audience, from certain familiar allusions, understands at once that the composer is telling why he failed to secure a wild pig in a recent hunting expedition. To make the matter clear the British collector offers the following expanded, explanatory "translation":

The beetles and cicadas are making such a noise in the jungle that my ears are deafened and I cannot hear the sound of pigs. My ears are deafened, and there is a singing in them.

Now it is just such substitution of explanation and paraphrase for accurate translation that makes analyses of poetic form and investigations in development well-nigh impossible. Paraphrase, indeed, obscures parallelism in meaning—the chief formal trait of most of these songs. To detect parallelism and discover its varieties—complete or incomplete, synonymous, antithetical, or incremental—the investigator must know not only the meaning of each word or agglutinative compound in the original, but also how each word or compound is made up—what is root, prefix, infix, and suffix. Here is a case in point. In the first chapter of his *Beginnings of Poetry* Gummere quotes "two"

Cherokee songs of friendship, with translations by a "Mr. Hicks, a Cherokee of half blood."

Can, nal, li, èh, ne-was-tu.
A friend you resemble.

Chorus. Yai, ne, noo, way. E, noo, way, hā.

Ti, nai, tau, nā, cla, ne-was-tu.
Brothers I think we are.

And the chorus as before. A glance at the original verses reveals the fact that these "two" songs are related in form, perhaps as two stanzas of one song, or as two similar songs composed at the same time or at different times. They not only have the same chorus, but the compound ne-was-tu appears in the same position in each. Now the point to be observed is that the translation obscures this parallelism, and thereby misses a salient characteristic of the original. Moreover, to appreciate the full effect of this salient trait one must understand each part of this compound. Finally, until we have a faithful word-for-word translation we cannot determine whether or not any antithetical or synonymous parallelism is contained in the Can, nal, li, èh of the first and the Ti, nai, tau, nā, cla of the second line. Professor Gummere calls Mr. Hicks' translation "interlinear"; properly speaking, it is nothing of the kind. To base any extensive account of primitive songs upon translations like this would be unscientific.

Many other examples of unsatisfactory versions—including "interlinear" and professed literal translations—by writers familiar with the original languages might be offered. The more carefully the original texts are compared with the translations the less satisfactory do the latter appear. Washington Matthews, who lived for years among the Navajo Indians, knew their language, and compiled a Navajo dictionary (still in MS.), published many of their songs both in the original and in translation; but even his versions, as checked by his own dictionary or that of the Franciscan Fathers, are not always verbally exact or sufficiently representative of formal characteristics. Miss Frances

Densmore, the accomplished student of Chippewa and Teton Sioux music, is so deeply interested in the musical aspect of Indian song that her translations, even though she has had the assistance of educated natives, are demonstrably imperfect in respect of the diction and syntax of the original.

Of course some interlinear versions—especially those by anthropologists with philological training—are entirely satisfactory, or nearly so. Versions by such men as Dorsey, Boas, and Goddard leave little to be desired. But the mass of our materials is not authoritative.

In the light of such facts as these it is easy to point out what *should* be done in a descriptive and textual way before the student of the beginnings of poetry can proceed to systematic analysis of the materials available. Such texts as we have should be checked, edited, and re-translated by specially qualified persons with the assistance of trustworthy members of the native tribes concerned. A "specially qualified person" would be a scholar who had been trained in philological research and who had acquired at first hand his knowledge of a given language. Investigations *should* be carried on among the natives themselves, "on the spot."

But these "shoulds" are a counsel of perfection. Desirable as such procedure is, it is seldom possible, and as time flies the simpler peoples perish. Therefore, the student of the simpler poetries either must wait until the counsel of perfection is realized—and the probabilities are against its ever being realized in a large measure—or he must himself do what *can* be done under the circumstances. In respect of a given original and a suspicious translation he may attempt: (1) by means of a thorough study of the proper dictionaries, grammars, and other apparatus to separate each word or compound of the original into its parts—prefix, infix, root, suffix, etc.—as in a literal, interlinear translation, and to explain the function of each part; (2) by means of this word-analysis and interlinear translation to check the inaccuracies, unwarrantable expansions, and omissions of the given version, or to produce a new version, keeping as close to

the form of the original as the genius of his own language will anywise permit.

This possible task is in many cases made comparatively easy by the general guidance which the purported translation affords. Such a "translation," for instance, as the expanded explanation of the Andamanese song given above would be a material help, and many scientifically unsatisfactory versions give even more help of a *general* sort. Without this guidance the task might well be vague and hopeless, but with it the problem is roughly comparable, say, to working out a literal translation of a passage of Homer or Dante by means of a dictionary, a grammar, and a more or less free "pony." Of course it may be objected that the genius of an agglutinative "simple" language is very strange to the language-sense of a European. But though many of the tongues with which the investigator may be concerned are complex in respect of word-forms, most of them are rather simple in principle, and a little study of one, under competent guidance, goes a long way toward supplying a language-sense for others.

That mistakes in word-analysis and translation will be made in the work proposed goes without saying. But four considerations will largely offset the embarrassment of these inevitable errors. An abbreviated, expanded, or otherwise too free translation that has been checked and supplemented in the way described will measurably approach a complete and accurate representation of the original in meaning and form, and as such will be preferable as a basis for inductive studies. Moreover, just as to the making of critical editions of texts in the unknown or little known languages of antiquity many scholars and generations of scholars have contributed, so it may be hoped that the attempt to initiate study of these less important texts will lead to further criticism by qualified students, and to some increase in the philological apparatus pertaining to the task. By the very conditions of the study perfect translations are beyond the hope of the pioneer, but he need not therefore be discouraged. If his errors lead to corrections he has been of service. Again, if each text is fully and honestly annotated the amount of error will be

minimized. To each interlinear translation should be attached extensive critical notes, comprising a precise and explicit account of the authority on which each word-analysis is based, clear distinctions between well-grounded analyses and "guesses" (with the reasons for each "guess"), and frank confession of the difficulties that have proved insurmountable, of the problems of word-study and syntax that are yet to be mastered. The amount of error that may creep into a treatment as candid as this need not be a serious deterrent. Finally, the detailed explanation of the form and function of each word and compound will make it feasible for any student who wishes to study a given song or story in its relation to his particular problem of research to gain, with comparatively little effort, a fairly intimate acquaintance with the original text—a very important desideratum.

A prerequisite, then, for specific study of the beginnings of "literature" among the lower races is the critical preparation of a series of original texts and approximately word-for-word translations, annotated and emended as indicated above. So far as possible the materials we have from each of the simpler peoples should be treated thus, until by accumulation of these textual studies we obtain a critical corpus, which will afford, in turn, the basis for further analytic and comparative study of processes of composition, of the differentiation, development, and function of special forms or types, and of the technique of action, situation, plot and character, diction and parallelism, rhythm and metre. It is highly desirable, moreover, that to each special collection there be prefixed a digest, with due indication of agreement and disagreement of authorities, of our information concerning the origin, composition, and occasion, the persistence, distribution, and transformation, and the method of delivery of the sort of compositions represented in the study, as well as a brief estimate of the cultural conditions or level of the tribe or people concerned. A bibliography of the more important works to be consulted should also be added, annotated to give the student some idea of the content and value of each work in its bearing upon the general culture or poetic compositions of the people.

The field of this project is very wide. If we consider only one division of it, the *songs* of the simpler peoples, we shall find, on a very rough estimate, that there are, exclusive of entirely satisfactory editions by a few anthropologists and other scholars, between two and three thousand songs which can be and ought to be edited as has been proposed. We possess many songs, in both the original languages and translations, of the lower races of Africa, Australia, North and South America, Asia, and Oceania (consider, e.g., the hundreds of Maori songs alone), which must be edited as critically as possible before students of literature can study them systematically.

To render this proposal clearer an attempt is here made, by way of example, to study the texts of twelve Andamanese songs contained in M. V. Portman's *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*.[2] But it must be understood that what is presented here is only a preliminary sketch for a more thorough and extensive study which is in course of preparation and which will include all the available songs and stories of this people, as well as a complete summary of our information concerning the general culture and poetic practice of the Andamanese.

[2] Published by the Office of the Supt. of Government Printing, India (Calcutta, 1898). M. V. Portman, for several years the officer in charge of the Andamanese, made a careful study of the dialects of the South Andaman group of tribes, compiling a grammar and a comparative vocabulary with extensive explanatory notes. These, together with fairly copious examples of Andamanese prose and verse, he published in the volume noted above. His work is painstaking, accurate, and authoritative. His intimate acquaintance with the natives and their language and his constant endeavor to check all his information by comparison of several first-hand reports offset the disadvantage, which he himself admits, that he is not a trained philologist. To the thirteen songs included in this work very little attention has been paid by students of the beginnings of poetry. For reasons of space I have had to omit consideration of the last song, which is somewhat longer than the others. The present account of Andamanese culture is based for the most part upon Portman and E. H. Man (reference below).

THE ANDAMANESE

The Andaman Islands, situated in the Bay of Bengal, west of the lower strip of Burma and one hundred and twenty miles from the nearest point of the mainland, have been inhabited from a remote past, perhaps since the Pleistocene period and certainly since the Neolithic Age, by a people whose racial affinities are obscure. The Andamanese are generally classed as of negrito stock and it is probable that they are related to the negritos who once inhabited the southeast portion of Asia and certain adjacent islands, and who, probably, were the ancestors of the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines. The kitchen middens on the Andaman Islands are of great age—some of them are more than fifteen feet high—and the fact that identical forms of pottery and stone implements are found at the surface and the base of the middens implies that the aborigines have not varied greatly in culture from age to age. Probably never numerous, the natives have been so disastrously affected by contact with civilization that in 1883 they numbered but four thousand souls, and their early extermination was anticipated. Eighteen years later that number was cut in half.

Their culture is so very simple that the Andamanese have been regarded by anthropologists as among the most primitive of existing human beings. They belong to the "collecting" and lower-hunting peoples. They live on edible roots, wild fruits and honey, molluscs, turtle, fish, the larvae of insects, and certain small jungle animals, notably the wild pig. Food is so easily procured that nomadism is restricted. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Europeans imported dogs, which are now greatly prized for hunting. Agriculture was also introduced by strangers and the natives still regard it as a degrading occupation. Their habitations, even the most permanent, are of the roughest. The art of producing fire they seem never to have known, and probably they first obtained fire in the form of glowing coals from some neighboring volcano. But they have developed great skill in preserving it.

Their life, socially and morally, is far from complicated. The family is recognized. There is a marked equality of husband and wife, and considerable mutual affection. Political organization is of the simplest, a division into tribes and septs, and within the tribe a primitive communism modified by the more or less nominal authority of the chief. Succession to the office of chief is by popular choice, and the minority is always free to transfer its tribal allegiance. The individual takes the "law" into his own hands, but disputes are often settled through the influence of the chief, who, however, has no authority to exact obedience. Childish fits of temper, to which the natives are subject and which usually wear themselves out in a capricious destruction of property, go unpunished. Some murders are avenged, but many a murderer succeeds in frightening off his fellows, or has the good sense to leave the village until popular excitement has died down, when he may return with impunity. Ordeals, covenants, and oaths to guarantee performance of contract seem not to be known to this primitive folk.

Their morality has been lowered by intercourse with civilized peoples, but in their isolated and peaceful state they seem to have been modest, self-reliant, candid, and rather veracious; devoted and tender in their care of the infirm, the aged, and the very young; and sedulous to observe the duties of hospitality. The women always wear aprons, and are modest to the point of prudery. The men, unless prevented by the whites, go naked except for certain ornaments. Commercial dishonesty, so far as it exists, is an acquired trait. The Andamanese are little given to trading among themselves. Their transactions are in the nature of a generous making of presents for which equivalent gifts are expected. Quarrels arise when an inadequate return is offered. Greed for the material goods of life is rare, they are not given to accumulation of possessions, and property is not handed down from generation to generation. In warfare, cunning and treachery are relied upon and heroic courage is lacking; but cowards are ridiculed.

The Andamanese have the bow and arrow, the spear, and the harpoon; the objects made and used by them hardly amount to one hundred items. Most of their manufactured articles are so simple and so easily replaced that little care is taken to preserve them. The weapons, tools, and other slight property of a given individual may be used by his relatives; such important articles as a cooking pot, a canoe, or a sounding board (used for marking time in the dance), when the owner is not using them, are "looked upon somewhat in the light of public property by members of the same community."

In the possession of a knowledge of simple forms of pottery they are superior to the Australians, Tasmanians, and Fuegians. The middens prove, moreover, that this knowledge is by no means limited to recent times. Pots are made by the layer-and-scraping method. Designs (plant and animal forms are never imitated) are scratched on with a stick. The Andamanese are still in the stone age. Natural forms of stones and shells are used as tools; shaped implements are of the simplest. Iron they now secure from the British penal colony at Port Blair, but their only method of working it is by hammering cold pieces. Basketry and the weaving of mats are understood, but only in simple patterns; leather work is unknown.

Of the mental capacity of the Andamanese it may be said that in youth a certain precocity is displayed under foreign instruction, but in its natural, untutored state the intellect is largely dormant. A curious, inventive race the Andamanese are not, but among them are individuals of penetrative mind, strong will, and vivid imagination. As a people they "care little for abstract ideas and their life is absorbed in their material wants and pleasures, regarding which they generally converse. If you see a number of Andamanese collected about one who is telling a story, you find that story to be nearly always about a pig or turtle hunt. They seem never to tire of hearing these stories, though there is a great sameness about them (like English fox-hunters discussing their 'runs'), and the stories are related with much acting and gesture."[3]

[3] M. V. Portman, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Considerable interest and a spirit of emulation are displayed in making weapons and other articles. Hour after hour may be spent by the natives in the persevering, monotonous toil of shaping arrow heads and spear heads to suit their taste, or in improving the curve of a bow, even when there is no necessity, immediate or prospective, to act as a stimulus. Yet they do not preserve weapons and utensils of superior workmanship for private use: they frequently make presents of the best that they possess.[4]

They have no writing of any sort, no signs or tallies, no recognized standards of weights and measures. Their only specific numerals are one and two. Beyond "two" the idea of quantity is exceedingly vague, though the more intelligent, by using fingers and nose as counters, manage to indicate specific numbers up to ten. Their geographical knowledge, until the advent of the British, was entirely local. They knew nothing of the coast of Burma, let alone the rest of the world. Voyagers who from time to time came to their shores were regarded as the spirits of deceased ancestors returning from some small neighboring island of the dead to visit former haunts and friends.

They delight in multiplying terms to designate the various aspects of life in which they are interested. Thirteen periods of day and night are distinguished and named; three main seasons and twenty minor seasons (named after trees which flower in succession), four phases of each lunation, the four points of the compass, four winds, and three kinds of clouds are recognized. Of their language something is said below.

Of Andamanese superstitions, myths, and legends I have not space to speak. Suffice to say that the superstitions are simple, the expression of a timorous, childlike, and good-hearted people; not particularly numerous or "suggestive of an insane asylum"; etiological and animistic in character; most of them easily to be accounted for as natural reactions to experience. Conduct

[4] E. H. Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XII, 94.

is shaped according to the warnings and advice received in dreams. Certain individuals who are prolific of dreams are credited with supernatural power (cf. Song X, below). There are no forms of worship, no religious rites; there is no devotion to trees, stones, celestial bodies, or other objects; but a rather complete etiology of creation, of the heavenly bodies, of the larger aspects of nature, of life, death, and resurrection, of fire and the arts has been developed. The creating agent is an immortal being, Puluga, who is like fire, but is now invisible. He created everything except the evil spirits. He lives in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he made for himself. He is omniscient during the day; he eats and drinks and sleeps much during the dry season, but when he is angry he comes out of his house and growls and blows and hurls burning faggots. He has many children, but only one son. The stories told about him show Christian influence.

From these facts concerning the Andamanese and their way of living, certain inferences which have an important bearing upon the study of their poetry may be drawn. Andamanese culture, certainly, is not "rising," or "mounting"; it shows no vitality in expanding to meet new demands. The race is disappearing. On the other hand, such evidence as we have of its past indicates that this culture has always been so simple, so close to an irreducible minimum, that there has been little opportunity for the loss of significant characteristics. We are therefore justified, or, at least, fairly well justified, in regarding both the material and intellectual features of this culture as the products of a very simple *but not decadent* state of savagery.[5] In turn, then, we may infer that the rhythmic utterances of the Andamanese illustrate at least one sort of poetry that is produced at an early stage of man's development.

[5] This remark is limited to the culture described in this article, i.e., to the culture as observed by Man and Portman. What may have become of the Andamanese in the last twenty years is another matter.

ANDAMANESE POETRY

The narrow consciousness of the Andamanese, the simpleness and limited range of their mental processes, and most of their chief interests, are reflected in the content and form of their songs. They sing most frequently of the exciting events of their daily life—pig hunting, fishing, travels and incidental adventures, and fighting; and there are many songs about the making of weapons, boats, and other objects. Both Man and Portman testify that the Andaman islanders have no reflective, religious, or love lyrics; their "nursery" songs seem to be limited to lullabies. Portman definitely states that legends are not transmitted in rhythmical form, but Man speaks of songs "connected with myths" (presumably incidental lyrics) and of magical songs. Special ceremonial or rite compositions are lacking: differentiation of performance at ceremonial occasions, if there is any, is limited to the dance.

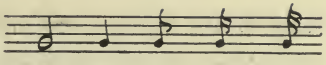
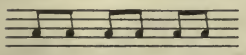
But the songs that are built about the events of daily life are very numerous in spite of the limited number of subjects. Every one composes. A man who could not make a song would be looked down upon. Even children have their own songs. Women occasionally make and sing lyrics, which, though hardly equal in power, are yet similar in every way to those made by men. Each person sings his own song. To sing the song of another is a breach of etiquette that may lead to a fight, but after the death of a man his songs may be sung by another member of his tribe. When a man wishes to make a new song, "he waits till he feels inspired to do so, and will then, when alone and engaged in some occupation, sing to himself until he has hit on a solo and refrain which take his fancy." He tries his song over and over again, carefully improving it to his taste. For several days, indeed, in some secluded spot of the jungle or the shore where he is fashioning a weapon or hollowing out a canoe the composer may continue to repeat and reshape his song. Portman emphatically asserts that this is the method of composition; he maintains that statements which stress an impromptu method are erroneous.

Regarding the origin of this habit of composing songs the Andamanese have no traditions. They believe that "the 'Ancestors' from time immemorial used to compose and sing songs similar in rhythm and subject to those composed to-day. . . . As songs by composers who have been distinguished men are sung by others of their tribe after their death, we thus get a few so-called ancient songs, which, however, are not really very old, and are of little value, not being different from the ordinary songs of the present day."[6] There is no evidence of communal composition.

Let us return to the composer. When he is satisfied with his solo and refrain he sings them at the campfire, where the villagers are collected for their nightly dance. If his composition catches the popular ear he may repeat it on other evenings, and may even keep it in mind to be sung at some future *jeg,* or congregation of several tribes for entertainment. "The singer chosen to repeat his song at such an occasion gains lasting recognition for his accomplishment." Songs are occasionally sung at other times and places, by small companies, but without the accompaniment of dance. The usual time is the evening; the usual place, the hard-tamped *bulum* (dancing ground) near the campfire.

At one end of the *bulum* the composer takes his place, his foot resting on the sounding board, ready to beat out the time for the dance. Amid general silence he sings his solo, very likely in a falsetto. Then his voice drops an octave as he delivers the refrain. If the listeners catch the refrain they sing it at once, but if not, the soloist repeats it two or three times until they are able to sing it in chorus. "The dance commences with the refrain being accompanied by a clapping of hands and thighs, and the stamping of the soloist's foot on the sounding board. The

[6] M. V. Portman, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Portman does not state in detail how he collected the songs printed below, nor does he inform us whether any of them are "old." But we know that he got them direct from the natives. There is no indication in them of foreign (European or Asiatic) influence.

time of this clapping and stamping is  but the time marked by the stamping of the dancers' feet is  After the refrain has been repeated about ten times the chorus pause to take breath, but the clapping of hands and thighs and the stamping on the sounding board continue; when the chorus have recovered their breath they again repeat the refrain about ten times. The soloist will then repeat the song, and the refrain will be taken up again as before; and this may be repeated as many as six times, if the song has been sung before and is known; when, if it has been a success, the soloist sings a line which appears to be meaningless, and the chorus answers with another line, also meaningless, which is sung once, and the time beats then alter to a confused rattle, and the song ends. If it has not been approved, it will die away after one or two repetitions and this peculiar ending will not be given. . . . At the conclusion of a song the same soloist may sing another song under the same conditions as the first, or he may be relieved by another soloist. Such songs and dances, with changes of soloist, are kept up all night. The work of the soloist is hard, as besides singing he has to give the time by stamping on the sounding board, but the position is a proud one.''[7]

Portman also observes that if the soloist in the middle of his performance happens to forget his lines he repeats two or three words, ''having regard to time and tune only and not in the least to sense,'' until the rest comes to mind. The music, consisting of monotonous phrases of two or three notes, lends itself to this universal device of the ''stumped'' reciter. It is also interesting to learn that the Andamanese have no method of taking breath in a song, and that a soloist who loses his breath in the middle of a long, agglutinative compound upon recovering begins a word or two back of the one where he stopped, so that he may not spoil the rhythm! Under these conditions it is easy to under-

[7] M. V. Portman, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–168.

stand how a solo may be prolonged by repetition of phrases, quite regardless of the meaning. "Andamanese songs," says Portman, "occasionally remind me of Mr. Gilbert's motto on the title page of the *Bab Ballads,* 'Much sound and little sense.'"

Men, women, and children join in the chorus. According to one authority, the men sing in unison, some women and the children in falsetto, and the rest of the women in a minor sixth above the men. No indication of the subject of a song is given by the rhythm, accent, or intonation of delivery, and if the observer has not a knowledge of the language he is quite unable to guess what is being described. Gesticulation and acting are not accompaniments of song, though they constitute the chief part of story telling.

"The formal construction of all Andamanese songs is the same, though the subject differs." To a short solo (seldom more than five "lines," and generally only three) succeeds a brief refrain, which is usually a mere repetition of the last "line" or of its concluding words. The refrain may begin in the middle of a "word." No attempt will be made in this sketch to analyze in detail the construction (line length, rhythm, accents, assonance, rhyme, etc.) of solo and refrain, but it should be noted that meaning, grammatical form, and syntax are frequently sacrificed to rhythm, especially in the refrain. Indeed, to satisfy his sense of rhythm the composer may so mutilate his words that he is obliged to explain the refrain to his audience. Man, however, appears to magnify the amount of poetic license; or, rather, what he says on this point applies primarily to the refrain. Portman maintains, with reason, that the construction of the sentences in Andamanese poetry is much the same as in ordinary conversation, that the roots are altered very little, and that, in general, only the suffixes and prefixes are omitted and altered as the rhythm requires. A poetic dialect can hardly be said to exist, though certain roots appear in poetry which do not often occur in ordinary speech. Man's statement that a distinct poetic dialect does exist is based upon a misconception either of what a poetic dialect is or of the nature of Andamanese poetic license.

Of the brief, abrupt, and allusive character of the lyrics of the Andamanese an example has already been given. Like other primitive poets, an Andamanese in composing a song is prone to utter emotion without indicating its stimulus, to describe an action without explaining its cause or purpose, and, in general, to express himself so obliquely that only a native, and not always even he, can be sure of the meaning of the composition. More often than not the real motive of a lyric, the reason for its existence, is hid in the assumptions and associations upon which the song is built, in the inferences the native audience will draw, in situations their imagination will supply,—in allusions and implications quite beyond the power of an outsider to understand. The inclination to express one's feeling without explaining its source we have all experienced, and therefore we can appreciate the abruptness of these lyrics, especially after some one has explained the implied idea or adventure! We must remember, too, if our sympathy is to be complete, that the experiences which are the source and setting of our native's emotions are so limited in number and so frequently the subject of song and story that there is no need whatever of specifying them for an Andamanese audience. In most of the pig hunting, turtle hunting, and dugong fishing songs that are given below, for example, there is no mention of pig, or turtle, or dugong. From the way a song begins, from some descriptive touch, or from the nature of its emotional appeal, the audience soon divines that it is another of the countless but to them always interesting songs of this, that, or the other kind of sport.

But the Andamanese lyric, however confused it may become in delivery, however abrupt it may be in method, is far from failing to be an aesthetically adequate expression of human feeling. The songs are natural and realistic in their appeal, smooth and sure in technique. The selected details are invariably vivid and significant. The composer's art is equal to his theme,—powerful to excite emotion and discharge it, and easily capable of controlling and shaping his subject in a unified but varied pattern. Repetition is the device that secures unity, but in

almost every song this repetition is modified by slight omissions or additions, and accented by syllables like the ballad O, or by lyric exclamations, which are musically or emotionally appropriate. In these primitive lyrics there is nothing of immaturity in technique, of crude fumbling, of archaic stiffness. With their easy expressiveness and stimulating vigor, with their swing and point, they make us forget that they are the songs of some of the most primitive of savages. They touch us as human and modern, and with a certain surprise we put aside the prejudices of civilization to realize anew the identity of the human spirit.

THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGE

This is not the place for a detailed account of the language of the Andamanese, but a brief statement of some of its more important principles will be of material assistance in studying the songs given below. Each of the twelve tribes speaks a dialect, and some of these dialects are more closely related than others. The South Andaman group of tribes, which is the group with which we are concerned, is composed of the Áka-*Béa*-da, the Ákar-*Bálé,* the *Púchikwár,* the Āūkāū-*Júwói,* and the Kol. Their dialects are sufficiently different to make an interchange of ideas difficult. The vocabulary is comparatively copious; E. H. Man's dictionary contains over six thousand words and M. V. Portman's comparative vocabulary of the five dialects 2286 words. Abstract terms are rare, but there is a profusion of names for objects and for their parts, qualities, and conditions.

The general principle of word composition is agglutination. To roots, which have more or less definite meanings but are not inflected, are added prefixes and suffixes. These, with a certain exception, occur only in combination with the roots, and the latter are not split for the insertion of infixes. To distinguish roots from affixes I have followed Portman's device of printing the former in italics.

Roots may be divided into five groups:

(1) Names of parts of the body, with especial reference to the human body; roots referring to the human race generally.

(2) Names of other natural animate or inanimate objects, incapable of being converted into "adjectives" or "verbs."

(3) Roots which, being substantives, may be used as "adjectives," or converted into "verbs" by suffixes.

(4) Pronouns.

(5) Postpositions, adverbs, conjunctions, exclamations, proper names, honorific names, and particles.

In general, the prefixes particularize the meaning of the root by relating it to some object or quality, and some of them have a pronominal function. Thus the root *éla,*[8] which appears to have the sense of "pouring water," may be modified as follows: áb-*éla,* to wash another person's body by pouring water upon it; ád-*éla,* to wash one's own body by pouring water upon it; ákan-*éla,* to fill one's mouth with water; 'en-*éla,* to tell another person to fill something with water; āīan-*éla,* to fill the ears with water; ig-*éla,* to put a fire out by pouring water upon it; óng-*éla,* to throw water with the hands, i.e., to splash; ót-*éla,* to throw away (as to bale water out of a boat). It is difficult to assign a precise meaning to each prefix, for the Andamanese themselves have very vague ideas on the subject. But áb- seems to refer to human bodies and to be used of something done by one person to another; ád- refers to that which is done of one's own accord; ákan- refers to the mouth, to speech; 'en- has the force of a pronominal dative; āīan- refers to the ears or hearing; óng- or ón-, to the hand or foot; ót-, to round things, the head, etc.

With reference to roots in group (1)—names of parts of the body, etc.—certain prefixes have a special function. The parts of the human body are divided into several classes. Thus, one class consists of head, brains, neck, heart, etc.; another of hand, wrist, knuckle, nail, foot, ankle, etc. For each of these classes there is a special prefix: ót- for the head-heart class, ón- for the hand-ankle class, and so on. But these prefixes do not modify the meaning of the root; they have a third-person pronominal force, to signify which Portman prints before them the sign of

[8] All examples are in Áka-*Béa*-da; tense suffixes are omitted in the examples given above.

the possessive case: thus, *'ót-longotá*-da[9] means "his" or "her" neck; *'ón-kāūro*-da, "his" or "her" hand. Unlike the ordinary prefixes, these pronominal prefixes have singular and plural forms, for they are really possessive pronouns in the third person joined to the ordinary prefixes, and the pronouns alone of all the roots have plural suffixes. Thus, "their necks" would be *'ótót-longotá*-da; "their hands," *'ōiót-kāūro*-da.

Prefixes are not attached directly to the roots of group (2). The name of a certain tree, for example, is *béla*-da; the word for "bow," *kárama*-da. But to a succeeding adjective or root may be attached a prefix that bears upon the quality of the previous root. Thus the word for "sponge," a root of group (2), does not itself take a prefix, but an adjective following it, say "soft," assumes the prefix ót-, which is used with round things, hence with "sponge." To roots of group (3) the ordinary prefixes are added, and the original, or general, meanings of the roots are modified thereby, as illustrated above. The roots of group (4), i.e., the pronouns, may be prefixed to the prefixes of other roots, and when this occurs the pronoun is abbreviated. Thus, *dól*-la,[10] "I," and *día*-da, "my," become *d'* before a prefix (*d'ót*, *d'óng*, etc.; *d'ót-longotá*-da, "my neck"). The pronouns take special forms for different tenses of the verb (see below, song VIII, note 5). Roots in group (5) do not carry prefixes.

The primary function of the suffixes is grammatical. All roots, for example, which carry the English functions of noun or adjective take the suffix -da, when used alone, or at the end of a compound word or the close of a sentence. The honorific suffix is -lá; the vocative, -lá or -ló. Other suffixes, signifying time, are added to roots of group (3) when the latter are used as verbs. Thus -ré is used for the perfect tense, -ká for the imperfect, -ké for the present or future, and -nga for the present participle or verbal substantive.

[9] The -da is the noun suffix.

[10] -la, euphonic change for -da, the noun suffix.

PORTMAN'S ALPHABET

a is short, as u in cut.
à is short, as a in fathom.
á is long, as a in father.
è is a very short e.
e is short, as e in bed.
é is long, as a in lame.
i is short, as i in lid.
í is long, as i in police.
o is short, as o in dog.
ò is a little longer, as o in indolent.
ó is long, as o in pole.
u is of medium length, as u in influence.
ú is very long, as oo in pool.
āī is like i in bite.
āō is like ow in row.
āū is like aw in awful.
ōī is like oi in boil.
ñ is like gn in *gagner*.
ng is like ng in ringer.
ö is like ö in *schön*.
ch is like ch in child.
g is like g in gain.
Other consonants are sounded as in English.

Every letter is pronounced. Roots are printed in italics. A line is placed under a syllable to show that the accent falls upon it. In all words not so marked the stress should be placed upon the first syllable.

TWELVE ANDAMANESE SONGS

I

ĀŪKĀŪ-*JÚWŌĪ*[1] PIG-HUNT SONG, NO. 1

When there is a scarcity of other food the Andamanese collect cockles (Cyrena). The singer means to say that since there is nothing else to eat today the villagers must pick up all the cockles they can find. He also implies that he will go pig-hunting. Or perhaps he speaks disdainfully: "Oh, go ahead, then, and pick up your cockles. That fellow is mighty quick about getting them home! But as for me, I shall go pig-hunting!"

It will be observed that the composer leaves much to the imagination of his audience and that in the poem no mention is made of the real subject—the pig-hunt. Such omissions are characteristic of all these Andamanese songs, as has been explained above.

Solo:

Kói,[2]	*mák*,[3]	*tāūle*-le[4]	*not*-ó,[5]	*not*-ó,	
All right,	go,	cockles	pick up,	pick up,	
	Mák,	*tāūle*-le	*not*-ó.		
	Go,	cockles	pick up.		
Á	*é*-lá[6]	*m'rá*[7]	*karma*[8]	*chówe*-lé,[9]	*á*.[10]
He	took	our	quickly	hut ,	he.

Refrain:

Á	*é*-lá	*m'rá*	*karma*	*chówe*-lé,	*á*.
He	took	our	quickly	hut ,	he.

Translation:

All right! Go, cockles pick up, pick up,
Go, cockles pick up.
He took the cockles home quickly, he did.
He took the cockles home quickly, he did.

1. A tribe dwelling in the southern half, mostly in the interior, of Middle Andaman Island. Of the five related languages studied by Portman that of the Āūkāū-*Júwōī* stands apart. The meaning of the name is obscure, but is said to be, "They cut patterns on their bows." Āūkāū- is a prefix and may serve to signify that the action named in the root is performed upon wood (of the bow); cf. āūkāū-*chú*, in which the root *chú* means to burn and the prefix indicates the sort of article burnt, viz., wood—hence, "ignite." *Júwōī* does not at all resemble the words for "cut," "carve," "make," "bow," etc., and Portman does not give an equivalent for "pattern" or "design." The Andamanese have a tradition that the various tribal names were assigned by a great chief, *Māīa Tómol*-lá, when a deluge dispersed the ancestral race into the different territories now occupied by the tribes.

2. *Kói*, P,[11] come; more properly, go, go away; come is *é-í*. *Kói* seems here to be an imperative used with the force of the exclamatory kói (="Very well; go!"—spoken with a lift of the chin). I have ventured to render it by our colloquial "All right!"

3. *mák*, P, you; but *mák* does not resemble the forms for pronouns of the second person as given by P in his grammar and vocabulary. On the other hand, *mák* occurs as the root in expressions meaning abandon, let go, "leave" go, release, unloose. Possibly, therefore, *mák* may here be an abbreviated form for "go," or "let him go" (the "him" of the refrain?), and P, as he has certainly done elsewhere, may have here preferred not to render an emphatic doubling of an idea ("Go!" in *Kói* and *mák*) because he finds the tautology objectionable. Instead, he has inserted a "you" which does not appear in the original so far as I can see.

4. *tāūle*-le, *Cyrena*, or cockles. The -le is either a meaningless syllable added for rhythm's sake, or, more probably, an abbreviation of the noun-suffix -lekíle, which is dropped *within* the sentence or "clause" except at the end of a compound word (P, p. 84). *Tāúle* may be a compound (cf. P, p. 228).

5. -ó is, perhaps, a vocative suffix (cf. P, p. 36); but it should be noted that the -ó's at the end of the first and second lines are echoed by the final *á* of the third line.

6. *é*-lá, P, by. This, I believe, is a good sample of P's misleading versions. *é* means "to take" (see P's vocabulary) and though P in his interlinear translation places "by" under *é*-lá, yet in his free translation he inserts a verb—"He *took* home the cockles quickly." The Andamanese do not express agency by a preposition or an inflected form of the noun or pronoun; hence P is careful to insert "by," but careless *where* he inserts it. The suffix -lá I cannot account for. It is not among the perfect-tense, or imperfect-tense, suffixes. Is it an addition for the sake of the rhythm?

[11] "P" designates Portman's translation.

7. *m'rá*, P, *m'rá*, we. Perhaps the better form is the possessive "our," composed of *m'*, an abbreviated form of the first person plural pronoun, and the prefix ra-. The word is probably to be understood as meaning "our place" or "hut," hence, "home," as P translates.

8. *karma*, P, quickly, is probably a shortened form. In his vocabulary P gives rá-*jára* for "quickly." I can find no synonym for "quickly" that resembles *karma*.

9. *chówe*-le, perhaps a shortened or otherwise changed form for *chong*-lekíle (*chong*, hut; -lekíle, noun suffix).

10. *á*, he, coming at the end of a sentence, would naturally have the noun suffix -lekíle; the latter has probably been dropped for the sake of rhythm. The force of the "he" at the end of the sentence reminds us of our colloquial "He went home, he did."

II

ĀŪKĀŪ-*JÚWŌĪ* PIG-HUNT SONG, NO. 2.

This song explains why a hunter has returned without any wild pig. The singer, in simple but vivid make-believe, assumes that he is still out hunting, and he complains, by way of excusing his failure and exciting the sympathy of his audience, that the beetles and cicadas are making such a noise in the jungle that his ears are buzzing and he cannot hear the sound of the pigs.

Solo:

Lelmó-le[1] *t'*ébe[2]-t'rá-*t'rápó*,[3]
Lelmo beetles my -much- rough,

Jírmāū-le[4] *t'*ébe-t'rá-*t'rápó*-á,[5]
Cicadas my -much- rough- O,

*T'*ébe-t'rá-*t'rápó*-í,[6] *lí*-á.[7]
My -much- rough- O, buzzing-O.

Refrain:

*T'*ébe-t'rá-*t'rápó*-í, *lí*-á.
My -much- rough-O, buzzing-O.

Translation:

By beetles my ears are rasped,
By cicadas my ears are rasped O.
My ears are rasped O and buzzing O.
My ears are rasped O and buzzing O.

1. For -le see above, I, note 4. *Lelmó* (possibly a compound?) is the name for a kind of beetle.

2. *t'*ébe, P, me. The form is a combination of the "simple" pronoun of the first person singular, *tú*-le, with the prefix ébe-, *t'* being the abbreviated form of the pronoun used before prefixes. This combination has the force of the possessive pronoun of the first person, and therefore, I would suggest, probably has the force of "my ears," as I have indicated in the free translation. For the form see P, pp. 35, 37, 60, 61, 66, 389.

3. *t'*ébe-t'rá-*t'rápó*, P, me-deafen. A compound word or phrase: *t'*ébe-, as just explained, my (ears); t'rá-, a conjunctional modifying infix (P, p. 84); *t'rapo*, probably related to *t'ràpe*, rough, as of bark (P, p. 135). I venture to suggest, therefore, that the literal sense of the compound is, My (ears) rough, i.e., beetles (by) my (ears) rough (are)—whence P's "Me-deafen." It may be suggested that t'rá- is a case of emphatic duplication of the first syllable of *t'rapó*, but if P had so understood it he would have printed it in italics, as a root. On the other hand, the infix t'rá- may give the force of "much," as it does, according to P, in the form āūko-t'rá-*ker* (*ker*, root, "to glitter"; prefixes with force of "much"; hence, to blaze; see P, p. 209). The infix consists of the prefix rá- preceded by a t' that P believes to be euphonic rather than pronominal (see P, pp. 35, 81, 83, 84).

4. For -le see above, I, note 4.

5. -á, printed by P as a suffix; but of the suffixes listed by P (pp. 35, 36) the form nearest to -á is -nga, a verbal-substantive suffix which does not appear, except by borrowing (?), in Āūkāū-*Júwōī* (cf. below, IV, note 4). It should be remarked that both here and in the *lí*-á of the next line a verbal substantive would be appropriate. On the other hand, the -á may be an addition for rhythm's sake. Certainly the identical sound at the end of both lines gives a musical effect, a special "lift" to the lines. I have ventured to copy this *vocal effect* with a ballad "O."

6. -í, which is printed as a suffix, I cannot find in P's list of suffixes. Is it a meaningless vocable, inserted for some rhythmical purpose?

7. *lí*-á. P says (p. 170) that this *lí* is a poetic abbreviation (license) of *nílí*, a ringing in the head, or a singing in the ears. The full form given in the vocabulary, āūkāū-*nili*-leḳíle (prefix referring to the head + root + noun suffix), does not resemble the root meaning to sing. Is *nílí* onomatopoetic? Would "buzzing" be an adequate translation?

III

ĀŪKĀŪ-*JÚWŌĪ* PIG-HUNT SONG, NO. 3.

Again a hunter explains why he has not brought home any pigs. As in the second song, the soloist speaks in a sort of make-believe historical present. He wishes it to be understood that several people have died in this place where he is hunting and that therefore there are no pigs. Moreover, his head is aching so badly that he is unable to go farther.

Andamanese hunters have an engaging joke which they play over and over again to the ever undiminished joy of their fellows. Upon returning from an excursion the hunter assumes a mournful, disappointed air to make the village believe he has had no success. But after a little while he casually remarks to several youngsters that in such and such a part of the jungle they may find something of interest. The boys race to the spot, find the dead pigs, and bring them home, to the huge delight of the crowd. It may be that both this and the previous song are intended to recall this popular play; the next, No. IV, almost certainly is.

Solo:

Lāō[1]	*tāū*[2]	l'āūkāū-*p'rók*[3]	*chit*[4]	*āūlo,*[5]
Dead-men	bones	the same as	hunting	after (?),

Éche-*t'*āūtāū-*tāū*[6]	l'āūkāū-*néjá,*[7]	ó,[8]
My head	throbbing,	O,

Éche-*t'*āūtāū-*tāū*	l'āūkāū-*néjá,*[9]	*ó*-lé,[10]	'ó-[11]
My head	throbbing,	he,	his-

m'rāū-ká.[12]
poundings-do.

Refrain:

-*Néjá*[13]	*ó*-lé,	'ó-*m'rāū*-ká.
Throbbing	he,	his-poundings-do.

Translation:

Dead-men's bones where I am hunting!
My head is throbbing O,
My head is throbbing, it is, pounding away.
Throbbing it is, pounding away.

1. *Lāō,* properly, means Indian, i.e., Hindu (see P, pp. 286, 369, and Vocabulary). P notes (pp. 198, 286) that the corresponding Áká-*Béa*-da word, *Chāōga,* signifies a dead person or ghost, and that the Andamanese long ago applied this term to the Hindus who visited their shores, for they thought the pale-faced Hindus were the spirits of Andamanese dead coming back for a visit. Evidently the meanings and beliefs attaching to *Chāōga* pertain also to the Āūkāū-*Júwōī* word, *Lāō.* Hence the translation "dead-men," which is P's. P reports the superstition that "when a death occurs in a place, and a corpse is given platform burial there, no pigs will be found in the vicinity for some time afterwards" (p. 171).

2. *tāū,* bone, bones, skull; cf. *tāūle,* cockles (above, I, l. 1), i.e., the bones (shell) of the cockle. The possessive would be expressed by a pronominal prefix (= their bones) that the composer has not seen fit to include. Perhaps the next word, the-same-as, takes the place of a possessive. At any rate one is reminded that in pidgin English the phrase would be rendered "Bones alle same dead-men," instead of "dead-men's bones."

3. l'āūkāū-*p'rók,* the same as, similar, together; l' is probably euphonic, to prevent the āū of the previous word from struggling with the āū of this compound. Āūkāū is a prefix modifying the meaning of the root; it refers most commonly to the teeth, the mouth, pointed things, trees, wooden things (cf. above, I, note 1). Here the reference appears to be to the bones.

4. *chit.* In his interlinear translation P prints "will" under *chit* and "hunt" under *āūlo.* In another place (p. 196) he says that *chit* means "hunting." It certainly does not mean "will." Presumably the word is a verbal substantive with "I" understood: I hunting. The whole line seems to be an example of the disjunctive and elliptical method of speech characteristic of the simpler peoples; "dead men, bones, the same as, hunting," for "dead-men's bones are where I am hunting." For another interpretation see below.

5. *āūlo,* cf. above, note 4. The future tense of *chit* suggested by P's "will hunt" might be expressed by a root with a future suffix, but *āūlo* is a root, not a suffix. In his free translation P discards the "will hunt" both as a phrase and an idea. The difficulty is made still greater by the fact that *āūlo* does not appear in P's vocabulary of the Āūkāū-*Júwōī.* It may possibly be borrowed from the Áka-*Béa*-da, in which it signifies "after" (P, p. 193). Might "hunting after" be the meaning? And

does the singer mean to say that there are dead-men's bones where he is hunting after pig, or that hunting here is like hunting after dead-men's bones? I have preferred the former interpretation, which is supported, moreover, by P's free "version" of the line: "Several people have died *in this place* and therefore there are no pigs."

6. Éche-*t'*āūtāū-*tāū:* éche-, possessive prefix singular, my; *t'*āūtāū-, combined form of the simple pronoun of the first person (*tú,* I) and the prefix āūtāū-, giving again the sense of "my," but also including, in āūtāū-, a special limitation of the root *tāū* (bone) to the head—hence "my head-bone," or, simply, "my head."

7. l'āūkāū-*néjá,* P, pain. l' is probably euphonic; cf. above, note 3, and observe here the sequence of five āū sounds. Throughout the song, indeed, this expressive āū repeats itself like the throb of aching nerves (the Áka-*Béa*-da root for "throb" is *āūna*), or, perhaps, like cries of pain. Reading the lines aloud almost gives one a headache. What would be the effect if one were to hear the Andamanese chorus! Āūkāū- is a prefix, presumably modifying the root. *Néjá* may be a poetic license for *ngéche,* to throb. P prints this compound and the following ó as a separate line, but the division here adopted seems preferable as better suiting the sense and more clearly following the parallelism.

8. ó is not translated by P; it may be a meaningless vocable, similar to the ballad "O."

9. With this second *néjá* P begins a new line, thereby distorting the obvious construction of the song.

10. *ó*-lé. P's interlinear translation is so arranged that he seems to translate *ó*-lé, "is"; but I am sure that he means only to insert an "is" after *néjá* to make the sense clear—"pain is." In the vocabulary P gives *ó*-le as "he." "Head palpitating he" is surely a clear and emphatic way of saying that one's head is throbbing.

11. 'ó-. Portman does not translate this troublesome monosyllable, but the fact that he prints a smooth breathing before the vowel indicates that he regards the form as a prefix with the force of a third-person possessive pronoun (see P, pp. 42, 43). But as a prefix it should be joined with some root. I have ventured, therefore, to join it with the following root, though I think it more likely that it should have been printed ó—a duplication, merely, of the ó in the previous line (cf. note 8). The syllable seems necessary to the rhythm of the line.

12. *m'rāū*-ká, P, throbs. I have substituted "poundings" because I have used "throb" for *néjá.* -Ká is probably a present-tense verbal suffix, as though we should make a verb out of the noun "throbs," or "poundings," by adding "do."

13. Observe that the refrain commences at the juncture of a prefix and a root—an indication of the superiority of rhythm to meaning.

IV

ĀŪKĀŪ-*JÚWŌĪ* PIG-HUNT SONG, NO. 4.

Of this song Portman writes: "I was told that the soloist intended his audience to infer that he had gone back to the village and that the people there thought he had not got a pig; in reality he had shot one, and had left it in the jungle a little distance off" (cf. introduction to No. III, above). Portman's free translation, in which he aims to explain the meaning of the song rather than to present a faithful version, is as follows: "I saw a pig and it did not see me; so I drew back the lower part of my bow that it should not see it. I crept close to the pig, silently, on tiptoe."

Solo:

Kók	*t'*rá[1]*-chāūme*[2]		rá-*lót*-é,[3]
Bow	its	-tying part	drew back,
Kók	*t'*rá-*chāūm*-á,[4]		
Bow	its	-tying part,	
Póí[5]	*tóté*[6]	ábe[7]*-lí*-á.[8]	
Stooping	softly	creeping.	

Refrain:

Póí	*tóté*	ábe-*lí*-á.
Stooping	softly	creeping.

Translation:

My bow, its lower part, I drew back,
My bow, its lower part;
Stooping, softly creeping.
Stooping, softly creeping.

1. *t'*rá-, P, its. Is not *t'*rá- a printer's mistake for t'rá-? The former is composed of the prefix rá- and the abbreviated form *t'* of the pronoun *tú*, "I," and has the force of "my." It is difficult to understand how

the first person possessive pronoun fits the context. But t'rá- is a form assumed by the prefix rá- within the sentence or in a compound word, the t' probably being euphonic and not pronominal. In addition to its root-modifying function this form of the prefix carries a meaning for the Andamanese mind that may be loosely represented for the English mind by the impersonal possessive "its." This interpretation, at any rate, explains P's translation given at the head of this note.

2. *chāūme,* P, lower part. I cannot find this word, but in some of the Andamanese dialects *chāū* means "to tie" (cf. *chāūróg,* to tie up; *chāūbe-*lekíle, a netted bag). *Chāūme,* then, may very likely refer to that end of the bow about which the string is tied; hence P's version, "lower part." On *chāūme* as a verbal substantive see below, note 4.

3. rá-*lót*-é, P, pulled back. The prefix rá-, used also with *chāūme,* modifies the meaning of the root, probably by limiting it to some association with a tree (see P, p. 388); cf. the *wooden* bow. *Lót* is the root, meaning to extract, recover, uproot, etc., and so modified by the prefix, I presume, as to mean, to pull back. Of the equivalent root in Áka-*Béa*-da P notes that "pulling" and "recovering" are associated in the Andamanese mind because the first idea of recovering a thing that has been taken away by force is to pull it back again. The suffix -é is perhaps a poetic abbreviation of the imperfect-tense suffix -chíke, but I am not at all sure of this.

4. -á. Is this suffix the equivalent of the Áka-*Béa*-da verbal-substantive suffix -nga? It seems to be, if we may judge from the fact that P gives the Āūkāū-*Júwōī āūn*-á as the equivalent of the Áka-*Béa*-da *ōīyo*-nga, to be able (p. 372). The verbal substantive "tying part" is appropriate to the context. May not *chāūme* in the previous line be a mistake for *chāúm*-á? P notes that in Āūkāū-*Júwōī* e and a appear to be interchangeable (p. 30). If, on the other hand, -á were a meaningless vocable I should not expect it to be printed as a suffix.

5. *Pói,* P, on tiptoe. In the vocabulary *pói* is rendered, to drink. Perhaps the same word conveys the meaning of stooping (as to drink)? P's "tiptoe" is rám-*lóchok* in the vocabulary.

6. *tóté,* quietly, slowly, softly, gently.

7. ábe- is strange. Should the reading be ébe-, or áb-, both of which are common prefixes, the second relating to the human body (cf. creeping)? Or is ábe- a case of poetic license?

8. *lí*-á, P, I crept. In the vocabulary *lí* is given as, to descend. Presumably the prefix ábe- modifies the root so that it means, to creep. For -á as a verbal-substantive suffix (hence, "creeping"), see above, note 4.

V

ÁKAR-*BÁLÉ*[1] TURTLE-HUNT SONG, NO. 1.

As in the pig-hunt songs the pig was not mentioned, so in this song about spearing turtles the word turtle does not occur. According to Portman, the soloist means to say that he took his canoe to a reef where the turtles come to feed and that the man who poled the canoe for him pushed it along very slowly and gently.

Solo:

Lóg,[2] *l'*ár-*choárya,*[3] *āinye*[4] *d'*ídi-*dút,*[5]
Right place, his-breakers, therefore I-stop,

Lóg, *l'*ár-*choáryó;*[6]
Right place, his-breakers;

Óng[7] *d'*en[8] āūt-*boāng-dóoato*-ré.[9]
He for me hole-pushed.

Refrain:

Óng *d'*en āūt-*boāng-dóoato*-ré.
He for me hole-pushed.

Translation:

This is the right place, these are his breakers; therefore I stop.
This is the right place, these are his breakers.
He poled for me slowly.
He poled for me slowly.

1. A tribe inhabiting the coasts of the Archipelago Islands, northeast of South Andaman Island. The Ákar-*Bálé* were subdivided into the Northern and Southern Archipelago tribes, who spoke different dialects, the division being between Havelock and Lawrence islands. But the Southern sept is extinct. The dialect of the Northern sept is closely allied to the Áka-*Béa*-da language. The meaning of the tribal name is

said to be, "On the opposite side of the sea." The root *Bálé* or *Bála* means "the land on that side," or "the land over there"; in other words, from the point of view of the mainland of the Great Andaman, on the other side of the sea (P, p. 205). Cf. the conjectural derivation of *Hebrew*.

2. *Lóg*, P, the way. Ár-*lóg*-da (prefix modifying the root + root + noun-suffix) means, the proper place for anything. The reef, evidently, is the proper place for finding turtles. The composer has omitted the prefix.

3. *l'*ár-*choárya*, P, his-the sea. The prefix is composed of *l'*, a regular pronominal abbreviation, and the modifying prefix ár-, and in English has the force of "his" or "its," i.e., "his (the turtle's) *choárya*." *Chóar* (*chár* in Áka-*Béa*-da) is a root signifying "running water," and its meaning is modified by prefixes. Thus, in Áka-*Béa*-da, ár-*chár*-da means the head of a salt-water creek; áka-*chár*-da, a waterfall or rapid (see P, p. 378). Our form, ár-*chóar*, is used for a waterfall and here probably refers to the water falling over the reef (breakers?) where the turtle feeds. The *ya* is perhaps an extra syllable (like the *yo* in the next line), added for rhythm's sake.

4. *āīnye*, P, on this account. I do not find the word in P's vocabulary. For "consequently" he gives *án kíchune*, of which this may be a poetic contraction. A word of similar sound is the Āūkāū-*Júwōī lekōīnye*, "also," which in the *Púchikwár* language becomes *lōīnye*. In the disjunctive tongue of the Andamanese "also" easily carries the force of "therefore": "his place—also (i.e., therefore) I stop."

5. *d'*ídi-*dút*, P, I stop. The prefix is composed of *d'*, a usual abbreviation of *dól*, "I," and the modifying prefix ídi- (see P, pp. 60, 61, 67). The root *dút* I find in P's vocabulary as the equivalent not of "stop," but of "to peck," "to pierce (as with an arrow)," "to prick," "to harpoon." It seems to have a plural connotation, as "to pierce with many arrows" (P, p. 319). Presumably the meaning here has to do with the spearing of the turtle, or, possibly, the *stopping* (cf. P's version) to spear him. The prefix ídi- probably determines the exact meaning.

6. *yo*, see above, note 3.

7. *óng*, he; the form of the pronoun used with a verb (P, p. 63).

8. *d'*en: *d'*, the abbreviation for *dol*, "I," when it occurs before prefixes; en-, prefix. The form has the force of "my," "for me."

9. āūt-*boāng-dóoato*-ré, P, went very slowly. This is a difficult case of agglutination. The prefix āūt- is used of round things, the head, a hole (?), says P (pp. 35, 388). The first root, *boāng*, signifies a hole, as a hole in the ground (cf. *'*áka-*boāng*, mouth; *'*ár-*boāng*, anus). *Boāng* means, also, to make a hole in the earth, to dig up (see P, pp. 6, 38, 40, 42, and 76 of the vocabulary, and 280 of the text). Possibly the literal

sense of the passage is that the helper pushed (*dóoato*) holes in the bottom of the lagoon, i.e., *poled* the canoe. P, indeed, uses the word *poling* in his free translation. But where does he get his "very slowly"? Are we to understand some reference to poling as a slow process, or to pushing deep into the mud and so going slowly? The root *dóoato* appears to be related to id-*údāōto*, to push. "This meaning is not affected by the addition of prefixes, which merely indicate the part of the human body, or the articles, pushed" (P, p. 325): thus, 'ot-*údāōti*, to push a person from the back of his neck; áka-*údāōti*, to push a person backwards by placing one's hand on his chest (P, p. 345). If *dóoato* is for *údāōti*, as seems probable, it must mean either "push" or some way of pushing—perhaps gently. Or, as suggested above, does the compound as a whole equal our word *poled?* or, "he poled for me slowly"? I have adopted the last suggestion because it combines P's version and some of the points raised above. The suffix -ré, in Áka-*Béa*-da at least, is the suffix for the perfect tense.

VI

ÁKAR-*BÁLÉ* TURTLE-HUNT SONG, NO. 2.

Beginning at the age of eleven, twelve, or thirteen, Andamanese youths abstain from certain kinds of food for periods varying from one to five years. This fasting seems to be a test of endurance and self-control, and affords evidence of fitness to rear a family. One of the forbidden foods is turtle, a great delicacy among the Andamanese. At a special turtle-eating ceremony, which seems to correspond to the ceremony of initiation into manhood among other savage peoples, this fast is broken. Young men who have lately gone through the ceremony wear bunches of Baurowa leaves in their belts, and the Andamanese believe that turtles, ashamed to come near these leaves, hide from people who are wearing them.

The composer of the following song, says Portman, wishes to blame his ill luck in hunting for turtle upon two young men, Keti and Irap, who were with him and who were wearing the leaves that are peculiarly offensive to turtle modesty. But he concludes with a promise to fetch a turtle.

Solo:

Kéti, *l'ár-bāūrowá-lé,*[1] *d'íji-joábgo-ló*[2] *tik*[3]
Keti, his-baurowa leaves-from my - turtle shame
-l'*ómó;*[4]
-brought;

Íráp, *l'ár-bāūrowá-lé* *d'íj*'[5]-*ót*[6]-*joábjo*-ló
Irap, his-baurowa leaves-from, my -that (?) -turtle
tik-l'*ómó*-á,[7]
shame-brought,

L'*ómó;*[8] *bāūrowá-lé* *d'íji-joábgo* *máré,*[9]
Brought; baurowa leaves-from, my - turtle hid,

Bāūrowá-lé *d'íj*'-*ó*[10]-*joábgo;*[11] *bádé*[12] *ómó*-í.[13]
Baurowa leaves-from my-that (?) -turtle; saw bring.

Refrain:

Joábgo[14] *bádé* *ómó*-í.
turtle saw bring.

Translation:

Keti, at his Baurowa leaves my turtle felt shame;
Irap, at his Baurowa leaves that turtle of mine felt shame—
Felt it; from the Baurowa leaves my turtle hid—
From the Baurowa leaves, that turtle of mine; I saw, I bring,
A turtle I saw, I bring.

1. *l'ár-bāūrowá-lé,* P, his-Baurowa leaves-by. For the prefix *l'ár-* see above, V, note 3. The *lé* at the end of the compound is a postposition (the Andamanese have no prepositions) meaning, from, after; here it indicates the source of the shame.

2. *d'íji-joábgo*-ló. The prefix consists of *d',* the abbreviated form of *dól,* "I," and íji-, a prefix that has possessive force when it is used with roots in group (1); hence the translation, "my." The suffix -ló is difficult. There is a vocative suffix of this form. It is used, however, only when an animate object is called or addressed, and here the singer seems neither to call nor address his turtle.

3. *tik,* for *ót-téké,* shame. The root *ték* means "shame," and appears to take only the prefix *ót-*, which the poet has seen fit to omit. "The

Andamanese have very decided views on the subject of shame and modesty, though they differ somewhat from Europeans in their meanings of these words'' (P, p. 342).

4. l'*ómó*. The l' is probably euphonic. The root *ómó*, to bring, is used with inanimate objects. The form *tik*-l'*ómó* is a poetic license for some such compound as ót-*ték*-l'*ómó*-nga, the suffix -nga signifying past time. The Andamanese say that the turtle *brought shame from* the leaves; in English we should say that the turtle *felt shame in the presence of* the leaves. The former seems more vivid.

5. *d'*íj'. The final i of the prefix íji- is omitted, for euphony, before an initial vowel. This is the rule in both speaking and singing (P, pp. 176–177).

6. ót-, a prefix, possibly with the force of ''that'' (P, p. 388). Note the emphatic effect of this variation (see the free translation).

7. á, probably an abbreviation of -nga, perfect-tense suffix. Cf. above, note 4.

8. L'*ómó*. ''Certain phrases are repeated in the solo, sense being again sacrificed to sound'' (P, p. 176). But that the repetition is not without force is evident, I think, in the free translation.

9. *máré* takes the prefix ig- in Áka-*Béa*-da (Ákar-*Bálé*, id-); *máré* is poetic license for some such form as id-*máré*-nga.

10. ó-, probably for the ót- of the second line; see above, note 6.

11. *joábgo*. With this root P begins a new verse, evidently to correspond with the refrain. But this device breaks the sequence.

12. *bádé*, to see. ''A euphonic alteration from *bádig*'' (P, p. 176); but in his vocabulary P gives *bádig* as the Áka-*Béa*-da form of the Ákar-*Bálé bádí*. *Bádí* takes the prefix íd-; ''I saw'' would be *d'*id-*bádí*-nga, of which *bádé* may be considered a poetic abbreviation.

13. *ómó*-í. Is the suffix a substitute for the future suffix -ké? The complete form for ''I will bring'' would be something of this sort: *d'* + prefix -l'*ómó*-ké.

14. Note that, as in III above, the refrain begins in the middle of a compound, at a junction of a prefix and a root. Thus meaning is sacrificed to rhythm, says P; but some sense does creep into the refrain, for there seems to be here a promise of a turtle, after all!

VII

ÁKAR-*BÁLÉ* TURTLE-HUNT SONG, NO. 3

"This song refers to an occasion when the composer and a friend of his, named Irap, went out together to catch turtle. In the solo the composer states that Irap helped to pull his canoe in order to catch turtle and thus get something to eat; in the refrain the composer tells the villagers that Irap helped to pull his canoe in order to catch some turtle and thus give them something to eat, the doing so being a meritorious action on Irap's part. No sarcasm is intended. It is understood that the composer stood in the bow of the canoe in order to spear the turtle, the post of honour, while Irap was pulling for him. I do not consider this song to be pure Ákar-Bálé, though the Andamanese insist that it is; it appears to be mixed with Áka-Béa-da" (*rearranged from P, pp. 177–178*). *That the word turtle does not appear in the song is, as we have seen, characteristic.*

Solo:

Íráp-lé[1]	'ád[2]-*jódó-leb*[3]	*d'*en[4]	eb[5]-*rāūkāū*[6]-lí[7]	
Irap-master	his -stomach-for	for me	canoe	
	gómal[8]-ló,[9]			
	paddled,			
*D'*en	eb-*rāūkāū*-lí	*gómal*-ló;		
For me	canoe	paddled.		
Íráp	*ng'*ád[10]-*jódó-leb*	*gómal*-ló.		
Irap	your -stomachs-for	paddled.		

Refrain:

Íráp	*ng'*ád-*jódó-leb*	*gómal*-ló.
Irap	your -stomachs-for	paddled.

Translation:

Master Irap for his stomach's sake paddled the canoe for me O,
Paddled the canoe for me O;
Irap for *your* stomachs' sake paddled O.
Irap for your stomachs' sake paddled O.

1. -lé, honorific suffix, which I have rendered by "master." The honorific suffix is added only to the proper names of the Andamanese and is used in all parts of the sentence (P, pp. 36, 84). In the refrain, however, the composer has omitted it, presumably to suit the rhythm. It is an interesting, and possibly significant, fact that if the first line is scanned as iambic the ictus falls on the important syllables, and that in the refrain as it stands the same is true, but would not be true if the honoric suffix were added.

2. 'ád-, possessive prefix with *jódó*, a root of group (1); also spoken 'áb- (P, pp. 39, 43).

3. *leb*, a postposition (cf. above, VI, note 1).

4. *d'*en. Cf. above, V, note 8.

5. eb-. The force of this prefix I do not understand. It does not seem to be required in order to make the following root mean "canoe." If P had printed it 'éb, according to his system of signs it would mean "his," and then Irap would be pulling his own canoe instead of the composer's. But P states clearly that the canoe belonged to the composer. Either P has made a mistake or eb- has some entirely different force, which P should have explained.

6. *rāūkāú*, canoe, for *rōkō*. In Áka-*Béa-da*, and, I presume, in the closely related Ákar-*Bálé*, ō and āū are interchangeable. *Rókó*-da (-da is the noun-suffix in Áka-*Béa*-da and Ákar-*Bálé*, but it is generally omitted in the latter) is the generic term for "canoe." A particular canoe may be called by the name of the tree from which it is made (P, p. 216).

7. -lí. I do not know whether this is a meaningless syllable inserted to satisfy the rhythm, which is probable, or a poetic license for a noun-suffix at the end of a compound word. If the latter, the form has been "made up" not from the Ákar-*Bálé* suffix, -da, but from a form used by some other tribe.

8. *gómal*, P, pulled. The form given in the vocabulary is *gómaló*, to bend, *hence* to paddle; or, perhaps, "paddle" is the primary sense. "The root *gómal* in Ákar-*Bálé* also has the meaning of *paddling all together*, referring to the action of the people in the canoe" (P, p. 207).

9. -ló. This is not a perfect-tense suffix, for in words that, like this, are common to Ákar-*Bálé* and Áka-*Béa*-da, the perfect suffix is -nga. It is possible that -ló is an extra, rhythmical syllable. At any rate, the vocal effect of every line ending in -ló is so striking that in the free translation I have copied it by inserting a ballad "O."

10. *ng'*ád-, your: *ng'*, the abbreviated form of *ngāūlo* (second person plural pronoun, "you") before prefixes; 'ád, see above, note 2. The plural pronoun makes *jódó* plural, "stomachs."

VIII

ÁKA-*BÉA*-DA[1] SONG, NO. 1

The composer refers to an occasion when a dugong,[2] which he had harpooned, towed his canoe out into deep water, or the open sea, with great violence. With many exclamations he describes how the fish thrashed back and forth so that its belly could be seen, and how the harpoon line twanged as the animal dragged him back with a rush. The adult dugong is about nine feet long and is very powerful. It can tow a canoe for miles into the open sea. To catch one is considered a great feat by the Andamanese, and evidently the manner and excitement of the chase are so peculiar and striking that there is no need to mention the animal by name when one tells or sings of such a feat.

Solo:

Káká![3]	*ílí-lóm*[4]	*á*[5]	*d'ík,*[6]	*ng'*ád-*jódó*[7]
Whew!	very deep-in	he	me took,	your-belly

géálí-ká,[8]
kept turning,

Élóbá![9]	*ng'*ád-*jódó*	*géálí*-ká.
Wow!	your-belly	kept turning.

Bá![10]	*Rán!*[11]	*élá*[12]	*d'ík*	*gróm*-ló-í.[13]
Ha!	Twang!	back	me took	with great force.

Refrain:

Bá!	*Rán!*	*élá*	*d'ík*	*gróm*-ló-í.
Ha!	Twang!	back	me took	with great force.

Translation:

Whew! Out to sea he dragged me! Your belly kept turning!

Wow! Your belly kept turning!

Ha! Twang! Back he dragged me with a rush O!

Ha! Twang! Back he dragged me with a rush O!

1. A tribe, subdivided into seven septs, inhabiting the coast of Rutland Island; the coast and part of the interior of the South Andaman, and certain small adjacent islands; and part of the west coast of the Middle Andaman. The dialects of the septs vary and the southern septs know little of the northern. The meaning of the tribal name is obscure, but it is said to be "fresh water." The modern word for fresh water, however, is *ína*-da. -Da is the noun-suffix. P observes that in composing songs the Áka-*Béa*-da seem to alter usual forms more than any of the other Andamanese tribes.

2. The dugong, sea-cow, or *Halicore dugong,* is a large, aquatic, herbivorous mammal of the order *Sirenia.* It has a "tapering, fish-like body ending in flukes like a whale's, with two fore flippers and no hind limbs." This and the manatee are the best known Sirenians. It has been suggested, because of their shape, that they gave rise to the myth of the mermaid.

3. Káká, for káká-te, an exclamation "expressing surprise at the occurrence of some unexpected event" (P, p. 94). As an equivalent I suggest "Whew."

4. *íl̈-lóm,* P, very deep water-in. The first root I cannot find in P's vocabulary, which for "deep," as well as for "very" and "much," gives the general root *dóga,* big. *íl̈* may be a poetic license for some complex form (cf. the *Púchikwár* expression, *ílé béi,* how much), or it may involve some metaphor for the open sea ("sea" is *júru*). The second root, *lóm,* is a rare form of the postposition *len,* in.

5. *Á,* he. The third person singular personal pronoun, masculine and feminine, is *ól*-la (-la for -da, the l being euphonic), but when a pronoun is used with a verb its form changes with the tenses of the verb. With present and future tenses *dá* is used for "he," *á* is the form for the perfect tense, and *óda* for the imperfect (P, pp. 62–63).

6. *d'ík,* me took: *d',* euphonic abbreviation of *da'* ("I"; the same form being used when we should turn to the accusative "me"), the form the first person singular pronoun takes with a verb in the perfect tense (the form for the present and future tenses is *dó,* for the imperfect tense, *dóna*); *ík,* to take away. The suffix for the perfect tense, -ré, has been omitted by poetic license.

7. *ng'*ád-*jódó,* your belly. The sudden change to the second person is vivid. *ng'* is the abbreviated form that *ngé,* your, takes before a prefix. The prefix here is 'ád (= 'áb), the correct prefix for *jódó* as a root of group (1).

8. *géálí*-ká, P, turned; but the suffix -ká signifies an imperfect tense, and "kept turning" is far more vivid.

9. *Élóbá.* Presumably an explanation parallel to *káká,* but P inserts an exclamation point after the latter only. *Élóbá* resembles the Āūkāū-*Júwōī* exclamation álö-bāī, which is the equivalent, moreover, of káká.

P does not translate *élóbá,* but he translates the *Bá* of the refrain, "Why!" Is *bá* a shortened form of *élóbá?* At any rate, I have carried out the parallelism by inserting a prolific *Wow!* But I should not neglect to observe that in his free translation of the second line P stresses a "turning backwards and forwards." It would be quite in accord with his usual method if he inserted this phrase for explanatory purposes; on the other hand, *élóbá* may have suggested it. But if so, why did he not translate *élóbá* in his interlinear version?

10. *Bá,* P, Why! See above, note 9.

11. *Rán.* P says that *rán* "has no meaning, but refers to the noise made by the rope (one end of which is fastened to the harpoon stuck in the dugong, while the other end is fastened to the canoe) by which the dugong is towing the canoe about." "Twang" would seem to be an English equivalent.

12. *élá,* P, back. In the vocabulary *élá* is given as "to pour," but I have kept P's interlinear version. I suppose it is beside the point to suggest that *élá,* like *bá,* might be related to *élóbá.*

13. *gróm*-ló-í, P, with great force. *Gróm* I do not find, but cf. the root *gāūra,* strong, strength, muscle (P, p. 312). *Gróm* may be a poetic license for some such form as áb-*gāūra-doga-lóm* (áb, prefix + *gāūra,* force + *doga,* big + *lóm,* in)! Perhaps one should not attempt to form compounds of his own, but this little agglutinative adventure is intended only to give some very general idea of the many jointed wonder of which *gróm* may be the poetically telescoped result. I believe that the invention of such a vivid word as *gróm* to take the place of the sesquipedalianism would justify me in translating the excellent *gróm* by our modern invention, *jazz.* "He dragged me back with jazz O!" is intimately faithful to the original. The -ló and -í are either meaningless vocables inserted to fit the rhythm, or abbreviations of suffixes. P says that the refrain is almost unintelligible.

IX

ÁKA-*BÉA*-DA SONG, NO. 2

"This song is about Māīa Bía-la, a former chief of Rutland Island, who was greatly respected by the Andamanese and is here given the two highest honorifics, Māīa and Mám. It tells how the composer had come into the Settlement of Port Blair, leaving his adze at Tára-chang, where he was cutting a canoe. It describes how Māīa Bía-la used to work all day long when cutting a canoe and how his biceps used to stand out till people were afraid of his strength" (P, pp. 179–180).

Solo:

Dóna[1] 'ár-*wóló*[2] 'íji-*d'*ákan-*j'ró-tegi*-nga-ló,[3]
I my-adze I -Settlement-left-coming-O,

Māīa[4] *Mám*[5] *Bía*-la[6] 'ár-*wóló* *'ik*[7]
Honourable Sir Bia-la his-adze wielding

ig-*yāūra-tág*-ré ;[8]
-strong-mighty-was;

Māīa *Mám* *Bía*-la *wóló*[9] *'ik*
Honourable Sir Bia-la adze wielding

ng'-ig-*yāūro-bá ;*[10]
you -strong-not;

L'*óda*[11] *Bía* *'ik* *ng'*ig-*yāūro*-ó,[12]
He Bia wielding you -strong

Lát[13] óm-mádab[14]-*gāūra*[15]-ló[16] *bói.*[17]
Afraid his -strength rose up.

Refrain:

Lát óm-mádab-*gāūra*-ló *bói.*
Afraid his -strength rose up.

Translation:

My adze I, coming to the Settlement, left behind O!
The Honourable Sir Bia, wielding his adze, was mighty strong.
You, the Honourable Sir Bia's adze wielding, were strong —not at all!
He, Bia, wielding it, you were strong—eh?
Afraid! When his strength rose up!
Afraid! When his strength rose up!

1. *Dóna,* I: the form of the first person singular pronoun used with a verb in the imperfect tense (cf. above, VIII, notes 5, 6). The imperfect tense in this case is lost in the long compound with which the line closes.

2. *'ár-wóló,* my-adze; *'ár-* is a poetically shortened form for *d'*ar (*d'* for *dól,* "I," before the prefix ár-).

3. *'íji-d'*ákan-*j'ró-tegi-*nga-ló, P, I Settlement left. This agglutination, long enough in itself, may be regarded as a poetic abbreviation of the greater part of the following prose sentence as given by P (p. 181):

*Dóna d'*ár-*wóló* l'áka-*tegi*-ré, *ér* l'áka-*jūru-len on*-nga *bédig,*
I my-adze left, country sea - in coming also,

i.e., I left my adze behind when I came to the "Country by the Sea" (the native name for the settlement). If the poetic and prose versions are carefully compared several interesting questions arise. The prefix *'íji* does not appear in the prose sentence; nor does P translate it or comment upon it. As printed it is a prefix of the first group of roots and has the force of "his," "her," or "its." But, with the exception of the native name of the Settlement, there is no root in the prose sentence that could possibly belong to group (1), and it does not seem applicable to the Settlement. Either it is a poetic "remnant" of some idea not understood by P or it has "wandered in" without meaning, by poetic license. Of these alternatives the former is the preferable. Next, one will note that the root *tegi,* to leave, in the poetic version has been removed from its proper position before *j'ro* to a place directly after *j'ro,* so that the meaning might well be that the adze had been left at the Settlement. That this was not the intended meaning we can only take P's word. The composer omitted the prefix áka- and its euphonic l', as well as the perfect-tense suffix -ré, all of which are indicated in the prose sentence. He also omitted the greater part of the native name for the Settlement, reducing *ér* l'áka-*jūru-len* to ákan-*j'ró,* and adding the abbreviated form *d'* of the first personal pronoun to the prefix ákan. The composer's -nga (present-participle suffix) might well have been taken

with *tegi* (''*leaving* his adze in the Settlement'') had we not P's testimony that with the -nga we should supply the root *on*, to come (''*coming* to the Settlement''). The omission of the prose *bédig* (also) need not surprise us, but P's neglect to explain the final -ló of the verse inclines us to believe that it is a meaningless syllable, as we have surmised in other songs, and may be represented by an ''O.'' On the other hand, it may be a way of bringing the compound to a close. These many changes, and especially the syntactical dislocation, are good examples of P's statement, referred to above, that the Áka-*Béa*-da poet is particularly given to poetic license.

4. *Māīa*, an honorific. ''When grown to middle-age, or married, a man is called *māīa*'' (P, p. 85).

5. *Mám*, an honorific. An elderly and much respected man is called *Mám*-óla. The term is used also for ''father-in-law.''

6. -la, honorific suffix, ''used with proper names, titles, and respectfully.'' Cf. Japanese *San*.

7. *'ík*, to take, here in the sense of ''gripping'' or ''wielding'' (his adze). The form is an abbreviation of *'ík*-nga, taking.

8. ig-*yāūra-tág*-ré, P, worked incessantly. The prefix ig- presumably modifies the root *yāūra*, or it may have a pronominal force, ''he.'' *Yāūra*, doubtless, is a euphonic variation of *gāūro*, to be strong; used here in the sense of working, i.e., Bia showed strength in wielding his adze. I have preferred to keep the original sense of ''strong,'' as being more vivid (cf. below, note 15). The root *tág* P seems to translate ''incessantly.'' *Tág*, then, must be a euphonic variation of *tám* (complete form, on-*tám*). It seems to me that ''incessantly strong'' may well be changed to ''mighty strong.''

8. -ré, suffix giving the effect of the perfect tense.

9. *wóló*, adze. The prefix 'ár- of the previous line is omitted. Presumably the juxtaposition of *Bía*-la and *wóló*, carrying a possessive sense (Bia's adze), renders the 'ár- unnecessary.

10. *ng'*-ig-*yāūro-bá*, P, you worked little. *Ng'* is the abbreviated form of the second personal pronoun *ngól* before a prefix. The *yāūra* of the line before becomes *yāūro*, a slight change of no significance. The final root, *bá*, translated ''little'' by P (cf. P, p. 337), resembles, or is identical with, the negative suffix -bá (probably from *yába*, not) which is affixed directly to those roots of group (3) the meanings of which permit its use. *Yāūro* is such a root, and therefore the force of *bá* in this line, so far as the Andamanese are concerned, is probably a general negative—much like the slang ''nit'' (''You, wielding Bia's adze were strong—not!''). The perfect-tense suffix, -ré, is omitted.

11. L'*óda*, he. L' is euphonic; *óda* is the form of the third person singular pronoun that is used with verbs in the imperfect tense (cf. above, VIII, note 5). The meaning of the line is obscure. Is it, ''He, Bia,

wielding (his adze), you were afraid,'' or, ''His, Bia's (adze) wielding, you were strong''? If the former, what is the function of the final compound, ''You were strong''? If the latter, with *Lát,* ''afraid,'' in the next line, must be supplied, ''He, Bia, wielding his adze.'' Or may not the line be ironical, thus: ''He, Bia, wielding (his adze) you were strong!'' (sarcasm, followed by the abrupt, ''You were afraid when you saw his biceps rise up''). I have adopted the last interpretation.

12. The final -ó is probably a meaningless vocable, though if the interpretation of the line as ironic is correct the -ó may well be a sarcastic exclamation. In the free translation I have ventured to introduce an ironic ''eh?''

13. *Lát,* afraid; a prefix and the tense suffix are omitted.

14. óm-mádab, P, his. ''A mixture of prefixes and pronouns concocted for the sake of euphony, and has the meaning only of 'his' '' (P, p. 181).

15. *gāūra,* ''which may mean 'strong,' 'strength,' or, in this case, 'biceps' '' (P, p. 181). P's note is a justification of the version ''strong'' in the previous lines, especially in view of the fact that we are thus enabled to follow the Andamanese in using one root (strong, strength) throughout.

16. -ló, either a meaningless syllable to suit the rhythm or a way of ending the compound.

17. *bói,* to rise up; a perfect-tense suffix (-ré) is omitted.

X

ÁKA-*BÉA*-DA SONG, NO. 3

This is a song about a man named Ira Cha, who was a seer, or Āūko-pāīàt-da (lit., a sleeper, i.e., one who is subject to trances). He used to say, and the Andamanese believed him, that in his trances he went under the sea and mixed with the Júruwin, the Spirits of the Sea. These did not know who he was, and they searched for him everywhere. According to the composer, they tried to find out his name from each of the tribes of the Andamanese, but at last they identified him in the country of the Áka-Béa-da. They always remembered him, and his name, says the refrain, is mighty in the land.

This composition ''has often been sung at the dances for the taking off of mourning, and was originally composed for one of those ceremonies. On these occasions, though actually referring to Ira Cha, it is also inferentially applied to the deceased for whom the people have been in mourning'' (P, p. 183).

Solo:

É[1] l'áka-*Bálá,*[2] *Júruwin-laga*[3] 'íd'-ót-*ting*[4]
Country Ákar-*Bálé,* Sea-in-Spirits his- name
átá,[5] l'*átá*-í,[6]
looked for, looked for-O,

É l'áka-*Bójig-yáb*-nga,[7] *Júruwin-laga* 'íd'-ót-*ting*
Country Áka-*Bójig-yáb*-nga, Sea-in-Spirits his- name
átá, l'*átá*-í,
looked for, looked for-O,

É l'áka-*Yéri,*[8] *Júruwin-laga* 'íd'-ót-*ting*
Country Áka-*Yéri,* Sea-in-Spirits his- name
átá, l'*átá*-í,
looked for, looked for-O,

É l'áka-*Béa,*[9] *Júruwin-laga* 'íd'-ót-*ting* l'*ík,*[10]
Country Áka-*Béa,* Sea-in-Spirits his- name took,
ng'ig-*lómya,*[11] l'áka-*káléá,*[12]
you -knowing, for themselves,

'Íd'-ót-*ting* *járéngó*-á;[13] *lóg*-ó[14] 'íd'-ót-*ting* bá[15]
His- name repeated-O; place-O his- name
yāūra.[16]
strong.

Refrain:

Lóg-ó 'íd'-ót-*ting* bá *yāūra.*
Place-O his- name strong.

Translation:

In the land of the Ákar-*Bálé,* the Spirits of the Sea his name sought and sought O!

In the land of the Áka-*Bójig-yáb*-nga, the Spirits of the Sea his name sought and sought O!

In the land of the *Yérewas,* the Spirits of the Sea his name sought and sought O!

In the land of the Áka-*Bea,* the Spirits of the Sea his name learned (you knew it) for themselves;

His name they repeated O! In this place O his name is mighty.

In this place O his name is mighty.

1. *É* = *ér* (cf. above, IX, note 3) = *érema*-da, country, place.

2. l'áka-*Bálá,* supply "of the" (country *of the* Ákar-Bálé). On this tribe see above, V, note 1. The l' is euphonic.

3. *Júruwin-laga,* P, Spirits of the Sea. *Júru* is "sea." Is *win* an adaptation of the postposition *len* "in"? Compare *wan,* a rare *Púchikwár* postposition, meaning "in." *Júruwin* looks like a compound. For *laga* I find a meaning "height," which apparently is a metaphoric extension of *laga,* the name of a certain species of very tall tree (P, p. 278). "Height" by a common association means "depth," and "sea-in-deep" might refer to the spirits who live deep in the sea. Again, *laga* might be from *lāō,* spirits (see above, III, note 1), or it may be related to ig-*lagada*-da, a newly risen or uneasy sleeper, *hence, possibly,* spirits (cf. P, p. 278).

4. 'íd'-ót-*ting,* his name: 'íd- = 'íg-, a prefix with *ting,* "name," which is a root of group (1), since the simpler peoples regard one's name as a part of his very body; 'íd-, therefore, has the force of "his" (P, p. 64). The second prefix, ót-, is also used with roots of the first class. Its office here I do not understand, unless in some way it modifies the meaning of the root.

5. *átá,* P, sought; literally, to see; hence my translation, "looked for," which keeps the meaning a little better than "sought." The perfect-tense suffix, -ré, has been omitted.

6. l'*átá*-í. The l' is euphonic; on *átá* see the previous note; the í is, probably, a meaningless vocable.

7. l'áka-*Bójig-yab*-nga, P, the *Púchikwár.* This is the Áka-*Béa*-da name for the *Púchikwár,* signifying, "they speak Andamanese" (P, p. 27). On this tribe see below, XI, note 1. The l' is euphonic.

8. l'áka-*Yéri,* P, the *Yérewas.* "The country of the *Yéri* here mentioned may mean that of the people of the North Andaman group of tribes, who were formerly called *Yéri*-da; or may possibly be intended for the *Kol* and Āūkāū-*Júwōī* tribes, who were also called by this name by the southern septs of the Áka-*Béa*-da tribe" (P, p. 183).

9. l'áka-*Béa,* the Áka-*Béa*-da (see above, VIII, note 1), the noun suffix, -da, being omitted because the word occurs within a sentence.

10. l'ík, P, took. The l' is euphonic; the root *ík* means "to take," "to find," "to learn" (cf. above, IX, note 7); the perfect suffix, -ré, is omitted.

11. *ng'*ig-*lómya,* P, you knew. *Ng'* is the usual abbreviation of the second person singular or plural pronoun before a prefix. *Lómya* is related to the Ákar-*Bálé* id (= ig)-*lómang,* to know. Perhaps *lómya* is a poetic contraction of *lómang*-nga, knowing. Either the phrase is parenthetical ("you knew it"—the name) or it gives the source of information.

12. l'áka-*káléá,* P, of themselves. L', euphonic; áka-, prefix; *káléá* I do not find in the vocabulary.

13. *járéngo-á*, P, remembered that. The root is probably a poetic form from some compound of *yáb* (*yár*, in Āūkāū-*Júwōī*), to say. We remember by "*saying* over to ourselves," and therefore I have substituted "repeated." If -á is for *ká*, "that," as suggested by P's translation, it should have been printed in italics, as a root. It may be a meaningless vocable.

14. *lóg*-ó, P, place in. Ár-*lóg*-da is "place." The prefix has been omitted by the composer. -ó is probably a vocable; it does not mean "in," as suggested by P's version. With *lóg*-ó P begins a new line, quite unnecessarily.

15. bá, I do not find. P has not printed it as a root and he does not give it as an affix. Presumably, therefore, it is a meaningless syllable to eke out the rhythm.

16. *yāūra* = *gāūra*, strong, strength; P, always. The meaning of the passage seems to be "His name is strong (mighty, *always* remembered) in the land," though keeping "his name *in place*" may have some other meaning for the Andamanese. P's free translation of the refrain is: "They always kept his name in honoured remembrance, and frequently spoke about him."

XI

PŪCHIKWÁR[1] SONG, NO. 1

It is to be inferred that the composer has been chipping a canoe all day. In the solo he means to say that before going to bed he cut a number of incisions to outline the work for the next day. In the refrain he says that the chips (from the work he had already done) lay in a heap around the canoe.

Solo:

T'óm-éma-'t[2]	*póche*[3]	*tá*[4]	*tāūr*,[5]	*lúngi*,[6]
My- bed- ?	*póche*	chips	chipped-in-line,	indeed,
T'óm-éma-'t	*póche*	*tá*	*tāūr*.	
My- bed- ?	*póche*	chips	chipped-in-line.	
Péch-chál[7]	*tāūle*[8]	*bérátó-lí*.[9]		
Scattered-middle	chips	in a heap-O.		

Refrain:

Péch-chál	*tāūle*	*bérátó-lí*.
Scattered-middle	chips	in a heap-O.

Translation:

My bed! My *póche* chips are chipped in line, indeed!
My bed! My *póche* chips are chipped in line.
Scattered in the middle, chips O in a heap O!
Scattered in the middle, chips O in a heap O!

1. A tribe inhabiting Baratan Island, certain smaller adjacent islands, a part of the south coast of the Middle Andaman, and the northeast coast of the South Andaman. The *Púchikwár* and *Kol* languages resemble each other rather closely; they differ very considerably from the Áka-*Béa*-da and Ákar-*Bálé*. The Āúkāū-*Júwōī* is nearer the first than the second pair. "There is some reason for supposing that *Púchikwár* was the original language from which these other languages are derived. At any rate, the roots, and the construction of the compound words, are very clearly shown in *Púchikwár*" (P, p. 27). The meaning of the tribal name is given as "They speak Andamanese."

2. *T'*om-*éma*-'t, P, I before sleeping, *literally,* my bed. *T'*, first personal pronoun singular (*tú*-le) abbreviated before the prefix om-; *éma* = *émi,* "bed," "house"; -'t, perhaps a present-participle suffix from the Ákar-Bálé (note the participial form of P's first translation), the meaning being, "I bedding," i.e., "I going to bed," "I preparing for bed." Or the 't, perhaps, should go with the following *póche, -t'poche,* my canoe (a prefix omitted?). Most likely, however, the worker exclaims "My bed!" by way of anticipation: "My bed! My *póche* chips are cut, indeed."

3. *póche,* P, canoe. But *ró*-da is the generic term for canoe, and more specific terms, as explained above (VII, note 6), are drawn from the name of the tree from which the canoe is made. Thus, *póche* is the name for a species of *Sterculia* (P, p. 46). It seems better to speak of the composer's canoe as his *póche.* A pronominal prefix is missing.

4. *tá,* chips. The more usual form is *tāū,* and the primary meaning is "bone." The "bones" of a log would be the chips cut from it (cf. above, III, note 2). *Tāū* means also: shin-bone, nut, claw, to cut with an adze. The plural number is obvious from the context.

5. *tāūr,* P, in line. Probably for the complete form óm-*tāūr,* beside, i.e., in line; the root means also, to spread out, to set in line (P, p. 353), and echoes the previous *ta* (*tāū*): "chips chipped in line," or "cuts cut in line," would give the effect in English. *Tāūr* is an abbreviated form, a suffix, and perhaps a prefix, having been omitted by the composer.

6. *lúngi,* indeed. Presumably an exclamation or intensive. It is frequently found in combination with other forms to signify, that much, then, really, at the same time,—also superlative degrees, etc.

7. *Péch-chál,* P, in that place. The first root, which appears to be related to *pé* and *pété,* has as its basic meaning, to be scattered or dotted

about irregularly; *hence,* to scatter, separate, halve, splash, twinkle, etc. (P, p. 353; Vocab., pp. 71, 139, 141, etc.). Perhaps we should see a reference to the chips scattered on the ground. P's "in that place" is probably a very free rendering of the sense. *Péch* may be an abbreviated form, but if the word is participial in force it should be noted that the *Púchikwár* generally omit the participial suffix. *Chál* seems to mean "middle" (P, p. 308), referring to the chips scattered in the middle *of the place* (hence P's rendering) where he was cutting the canoe. The complete form would have, I suppose, a postposition (*-an,* "in") and a prefix.

8. *tāūle,* P, chips. Why *tāūle* instead of *tāū,* as above? In the vocabulary *tāūle* is given as the *Cyrena* shell (P, p. 228; cf. above, I, note 4), which was the primitive knife of the Andamanese. But are, or were, canoes hollowed out with *Cyrena* shells, the broken and blunted "blades" being scattered about during the operation? Shells are not strong enough for such work. Probably *tāūle* is a poetic variation of *tāū,* and perhaps in our free translation we should copy the effect of the extra syllable by a ballad "O."

9. *bérátó-*lí, P, remained in a heap. I do not find the root. The form lacks prefix and suffix. The -lí is probably a meaningless vocable.

XII

PÚCHIKWÁR SONG, NO. 2

We are to infer that the composer killed a pig by stabbing it with a skewer. When he shouldered the carcass to take it home, the blood, he says, kept dripping down on his legs.

Solo:

Chám-ló[1]	*téwe*-lóng[2]	*t'*ab-*tāū*[3]	l'ár-*cháré,*[4]
Skewer-O (?)	blood-	my -shins	dripped,

T'áb-*tāū*	l'ár-*cháré*-áté;[5]
My -shins	kept dripping;

Ré-le[6]	*t'*áb-*tāū*	l'ar-*cháré*-áté;
Pig-	my -shins	kept dripping;

Ré-le	*t'*ab-*tāū*	l'ár-
Pig-	my -shins	

-Cháré-áté;	*ré*-le	*t'*áb-tāū	l'ar-[7]
-Kept dripping:	pig-	my -shins	

Refrain:

-Cháré-áté;	*ré*-le	*t'*áb-*tāū*	l'ar-
-Kept dripping;	pig-	my -shins.	

Translation:

From the skewer O the blood O on my shins dripped down,
On my shins kept dripping down;
From the pig O on my shins kept dripping down;
From the pig O on my shins kept
Dripping down; from the pig O on my shins kept.
Dripping down; from the pig O on my shins kept.

1. *Chám*-ló, P, skewer-from. *Chám,* for *chám-chúl,* a skewer. So far as I can see there is no postposition here to correspond to P's "-from." The -ló is probably an extra syllable to eke out the rhythm.

2. *téwe*-lóng, blood. *Téwe,* or *téwa,* is "blood"; -lóng is given elsewhere (P, p. 139) as an honorific, but P tells us that honorifics are attached only to proper names. Possibly one's own blood deserves the title of respect! I have omitted the honorific, if it be such, from the interlinear and free translations, but have inserted an "O" in place of it in the free version.

3. *t'*áb-*tāū,* P, my legs. *T',* as above, XI, note 2; áb-*chàltāū*-da, or áb-*tāū,* the shin. Áb-*tāū,* literally, is "the bone," but it is used of the lower part of the leg from the knee to the ankle. Áb- is a prefix with a root of group (1), referring the generic root *tāū,* bone, to a certain division of the human frame.

4. l'ár-*chárė,* dripped. The l' is euphonic; ár-, prefix; *chárė* for *chár,* "to flow," referring primarily to the flowing of a brook or any stream of water. The prefix ár- relates this general idea of flowing to certain parts of the human body, specified in the previous word, shins. The tense suffix is omitted, unless the form *chárė* is a combination of *chár* and the Áka-*Béa*-da perfect-tense suffix, ré. The disjunctive character of Andamanese syntax is well illustrated in this line.

5. -áté. This suffix is, perhaps, a variant of the imperfect-tense suffix, -káté, in Ákar-*Bálé.* -Yá or -ye would be the *Púchikwár* form. P in his interlinear translation makes no distinction between l'ár-*chárė* and l'ár-*chárė*-áté. My change in the second line to "kept dripping" will at least serve to mark the fact that the original does change, but in part only.

6. *Ré*-le, pig. The -le may be an honorific. Perhaps the succulent delicacy is an exception to the rule that honorifics are added only to perfect names. If -le were the *Púchikwár* postposition, "from," P would have printed it *-lé.* In the free translation I have let an "O" take its place.

7. "Observe how the Solo ends at the junction of a prefix and a root, the root being the first word of the refrain, which, also, ends with a prefix—the whole thus working in a circle" (P, p. 186). I have endeavored to represent this circular, or run-on, refrain in translation by dividing the lines between "kept" and "dripping."

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